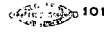


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The Same Old Byplay on The Way to The Summit

The dramaturgy of the Approaching Summit is as stale as any TV Western. Again, as under Eisenhower, Khrushchev is the Eager Suitor, Macmillan (like Eden and Churchill before him ever since Stalin died) is the Tireless Broker, and Kennedy the Reluctant President, being dragged unwillingly to the conference table. Again the State Department's briefing officers explain that we are going only for British "domestic considerations," i.e. to help the Conservatives win the next election; we have heard this so often that we begin to believe the Department would be relieved if England stopped having elections and adopted a less annoying system of government, like Diem's in South Vietnam or Gen. Park's in South Korea.

Peace—It's—Frightful

The background music for the Approaching Summit is as familiar. There is the same lunatic chorus of American Legionnaires, J. Edgar Hoover and Senators like Dodd and Thurmond keening peace-it's-frightful, coexistence-it's-a-trap; for them safety is certain only in extinction. In the outer wings, from Bonn, there is Adenauer, who celebrates Yom Kippur at any mention of a Summit; to hear his anguished cries is to believe that Kennedy and Khrushchev are planning a pogrom, with the helpless Germans as the innocent victims: might it not deprive them of those long-desired toys, atomic arms? The reassurances are the same. "Few sources here," the *New York Times* reports soothingly from Washington as we write (Feb. 28), "expect much of the Geneva conference. The resulting letdown, they say, will reduce the stress among the West." This, too, can be duplicated virtually verbatim from the files—this idea that unsuccessful summitry is successful diplomacy in that it cements the Western alliance. If this is true, why the reluctance to attend? Is Washington haunted by fear of a miscalculation? The excuse for stepping up the arms race is that it will force the Russians some day to accept our terms. But if Moscow in a fit of Ultimate Malevolence were ever to give up, what would the missile industry do? How run a government whose smooth operation depends on anti-Communism? If the cold war ever ends we'll be as stricken as an Eskimo suddenly transplanted gasping to Miami Beach. Fidel Castro will be our last sustaining hope.

If the preliminary exchange between Washington and Moscow is regarded as a Great Debate for the esteem of mankind, we come off second best. Mrs. Khrushchev's appeal to American women was not answered. The State Department tried to sell a draft reply to women members of Congress but failed; the cautious didn't want to get mixed up with peace either pro or con; the peace-minded disliked the tone of the departmental draft. Mrs. Khrushchev said simply, "We Soviet women vividly remember the horrors of the last war. It came into the home of literally every Soviet family." What do we reply? With a summary of the new arms budget, an auto-

Advice From Nehru

Q. You gave us a warning about China coming into North Korea if we crossed the Yalu River. Are you warning us now about our military buildup in South Vietnam?

A. In Korea we had been told that they would come in. We passed it on. . . . [Hiatus in version as published]. As for the American military in South Vietnam, you can't deal with these matters in a purely military way unless there is some political urge behind it. There is no doubt that in South Vietnam, the rural areas especially, there are a considerable number of people opposed to Diem. They may get help from North Vietnam, but essentially it is local trouble.

—Interview with Nehru in New Delhi as published by the *Washington Post* Feb. 25.

graphed portrait of Atlas II, and a warning that next time it will be worse? Mrs. Roosevelt could have answered. Mrs. Kennedy might have; Ed Murrow suggested weakly he couldn't see "any harm" if she did. We, the world's greatest experts in salesmanship, who can turn a mouthwash like Coca Cola into a refreshing drink, suddenly bumble when it comes to peace. The onlooker can only decide that it's not a product we're passionate about selling.

The opening message of Kennedy and Macmillan to Khrushchev on Feb. 12 did speak eloquently of making a "supreme effort" at the coming Geneva arms conference. They said it "must not be allowed to drift into failure"; they proposed "that we three accept a personal responsibility." Then they were startled when Khrushchev took their words at face value and suggested that they open the conference themselves if only to give "the right direction to further negotiations." The Russians didn't seem to realize that "supreme effort" is like "colossal" in Hollywood. The *New York Times* two days later reported that one of the things which worried Washington about the Geneva conference, summit or no, was "how to obtain understanding for the West's need to set off giant bombs after the disarmament talks get down to business." Mr. Kennedy would rather turn up after furor over the new tests die down.* (See footnote P. 4.)

A Way Around The Berlin Problem

The value of a summit meeting is not that it will magically clear away the almost impenetrable underbrush of technicalities that thrive like weeds around disarmament conferences. The value of a confrontation is that the leaders may say to each other what they cannot say through subordinates; there is logic in Khrushchev's second message of Feb. 23 when he said that the "certain measure of trust and confidence, without which it is impossible even to approach a solution of the disarma-

(Continued on Page Four)

Cuban Papers Embargoed—Why Not Keep Out These Subversive English Sheets, Too?

Some British Reactions to U.S. Plea for NATO Action Against Cuba

One effect of the new trade embargo on Cuba is to bar Cuban newspapers from this country. An AP dispatch from Miami in the Washington Star (Feb. 24) reported that *Revolucion*, the Castro organ, "has not been on Miami newsstands for nearly two weeks." A customs bureau official explained this was because newspaper shipments in bulk were "banned by the trade shutdown."

Perhaps some way ought to be found to keep British papers out, too. Their comments on Prof. W. W. Rostow's plea that NATO join in our embargo of Cuba are hardly wholesome fare for sheltered American readers. The Washington correspondent of the London Times had the temerity to suggest (Feb. 19) that this reversed the Monroe Doctrine which (he said) was propounded to discourage rather than to invite European intervention in the New World. In an editorial the same day his paper was more than doubtful of NATO action. This elicited two letters from readers which we reprint here along with an editorial from the London Telegraph.

British hostility to our aims in the hemisphere is no doubt due to the notoriously disproportionate role played in their politics by large landowners. These latifundistas are said to dominate the House of Lords and probably fear Mr. Kennedy's campaign for land reforms.—IFS

"As one who has recently returned from a second visit in 6 months to Cuba, I should like to support Mr. Graham Greene [see adjoining box] in his support of your critical attitude towards any suggestion of Britain becoming involved in efforts to suppress the regime of Dr. Castro. Whatever the merits or demerits of the system of government at present in operation, it is difficult for a visitor to that delightful island country to come to any other conclusion than that Dr. Castro and his colleagues enjoy the overwhelming support of the great bulk of its population.

"The purely material reasons for this lie in the simple fact that, for the first time, the poorer sections of the population are getting a fairer share of the basic necessities of life in terms of both food and clothing. It has been necessary to enforce some rationing, particularly of meat and fats, to accomplish this and a real decline in the consumer standards enjoyed by the middle class has occurred in consequence. In turn this has resulted, understandably, in a volume of bitter criticism which is aired quite openly in the more expensive hotels and restaurants in Havana. . . .

"Although my own trips were not sponsored in any way by the Cuban Government, I found myself free to travel wherever I wished on the island, without any 'guide' or 'interpreter. . . .

From "Their" Man In Havana

"To the Editor of The [London] Times, Sir—

"Your excellent leading article today [Feb. 19] criticizing the American suggestion that NATO countries should aid in the suppression of Dr. Castro's Cuba will, I feel sure, be welcomed in Brazil and Argentina and in Europe by all who saw something of the regime which Dr. Castro overthrew.

"President Batista's police state, addicted like most police states to the practice of torture, was supported not only by the American government of the time, not only by the more influential racketeers of Las Vegas, who controlled the gambling concessions and brothels of Havana, but also, in a blinkered way, by the present British Government. . . .

"With this past happily behind us let us be sure, before we support the policy of the State Department, that Dr. Castro's regime is really regarded by the population of Cuba as despotic and unjust. . . . I cannot help remembering a morning in Santiago, then under the military discipline of President Batista, when the streets were full of young children, who had gone on strike from their schools, as a protest against the midnight kidnapping of three girls, the oldest 13, who were held as hostages in the military barracks because their father had fled to the mountains. . . .

"Is it reasonable that I, like any other passer-by that day in Santiago, should be distressed at the idea that the measures the Government failed to apply against President Batista should now be employed against Dr. Castro?"

"Yours truly, GRAHAM GREENE."

—The Times (London) Feb. 21.

"There were many criticisms, comparable to those which we in Britain are accustomed to level against the Government of the day, of Cuba's rulers. But there was a fierce pride in what they were seeking to do and of which, indeed, there is abundant evidence for those who care to see—notably in housing, education and employment.

"It is to be hoped that western statesmen, including particularly our own, will take heed of the historic futility of embargoes and sanctions as a means of producing 'acceptable' governments. . . .

"Live and let live can, of course, always be interpreted as appeasement, but in the context of the modern world it is more likely to avoid the mutual mass extinction which corporate intolerance seems hell-bent on accomplishing."

—Donald W. T. Bruce in The Times (London) Feb. 23.

London's Leading Tory Newspaper Reads U. S. A Lecture on Cuba

"It appears that a renewed plea for an effective ban on the shipment of arms and strategic materials to Dr. Castro is about to be made in Washington. Since Britain already bans the sale of arms and strategic materials to the Castro regime the scope for further action is limited. . . .

"Should the intention turn out to be, however, to persuade NATO members to adopt the kind of trade embargo which is already practiced by the U.S., far deeper and more difficult issues would be raised. The quantities involved are not, of course, large. Until recently Western Europe and Japan have been supplying only about one-fifth of Cuba's imports, to a total value of £40m. to £50m. a year. Almost all the rest, now cut off, has been coming from the U.S. The first effect of the U.S. embargo on trade with Cuba will therefore be to increase Dr. Castro's reliance still

further on Soviet assistance. . . .

"Whether the second effect will be to bring the Castro regime to its knees is much more doubtful. It seems much more likely that siege tactics of this kind will heighten the puritan zeal of the Cuban revolutionaries and consolidate their attachment to Moscow. It is ironical that elsewhere in Latin America the U.S. philosophy is that prosperity, rather than tightened belts, combined with social and economic development and increased trade with the West are the best defenses against Communism. But the Cuban issue is something over which the cool good sense of President Kennedy's anti-Communist policies elsewhere has had little influence. It has become, in many ways, an obsession. It is one which the rest of the free world should try not to share."—Editorial in The London Daily Telegraph, Feb. 19.

Severe Sentences and One-Sided Trial Stir Sympathy for Nuclear Demonstrators

British Government's Blunders Helping Bertrand Russell's Campaign

The British government stumbles from one blunder to another in handling Bertrand Russell's Committee of 100, which is trying by civil disobedience to awaken England to the dangers of nuclear war. One blunder was the heavy punishment meted out to the six arrested for the mass demonstration at the Wethersfield air base on December 9: 18 months for the men, 12 months for the one woman though the jury recommended leniency. These unusually severe terms have aroused sympathy.

What Official Secrets?

A second blunder lay in the charge. Instead of arresting for trespass, nuisance, or disorderly conduct, the six were convicted under the Official Secrets Act, though the Chief Police Inspector admitted at the trial there was "absolutely nothing" in the evidence to show the accused were trying to obtain secret information. The result was the expression of concern in Parliament that this Act was being abused for suppressing freedom of opinion. A group of Laborites led by the former Minister of Defense Shinwell is collecting signatures petitioning for a speedy release. Many of these Laborites were too conventional hitherto to associate themselves with anything so offbeat as the Committee for 100.

There were other blunders useful to the movement in the conduct of the trial. The accused were charged with conduct "prejudicial to the interest and safety of the state," but the Attorney General called no witnesses to prove this. The defense on the other hand sought, in the words of the one woman defendant, to show that "the state's action is contrary to the interests of the people who live in it." The defense was not allowed to introduce evidence to support this point of view. Sir Robert Watson-Watt, the inventor of radar, and Dr. Linus Pauling both flew over from the U.S. to testify along these lines for the defense but were not given the opportunity. A Canadian scientist was not allowed to testify that the warning system against nuclear missiles was unstable and the likelihood of a false alarm sooner or later very high.

Defense counsel was cut off in mid-sentence on asking a Roman Catholic Archbishop, "Which in your view, is the

No 'Best Seller' Even Free of Charge

"There's at least one thing to be said about America's post offices: they've got a wonderful inventory of 'Fallout Protection' booklets. Fact is, about the only things that aren't moving in those post offices are the free booklets issued by the Defense Department. Washington's main post office has about 17,000 of them out of an original allotment of 25,000. It dispersed nearly 100,000 to branches in Virginia and Maryland, and they've experienced no great rush either, spokesmen said. . . . Despite the lack of demand, the first run of 25 million copies is being augmented by another printing of 10 million copies, apparently destined mainly for post office shelves."

—News story in *Washington Post*, Feb. 25.

higher law, the moral law or . . .?" The Judge said the Court was not interested in morality. When the defense began to ask an Air Commodore, "When you said you would accept any order from the State, Adolph Eichmann's defense . . .", the Judge interrupted again and said, "You cannot mention Eichmann in this case." But if the "superior orders" of the State were not accepted as an excuse at Nuremberg for operating crematoriums, are such orders any more valid morally for actions which would cremate millions by nuclear war? The defense could not ask this question of the witness. But no judge can keep it from haunting the conscience of our time.

Finally the prosecution entangled itself in all kinds of contradictions by trying only 6 members of the Committee of 100. Bertrand Russell, its outstanding figure, testified that he too had "conspired and incited" people to march on the Wethersfield base: the government was afraid to send England's foremost philosopher now nearing 90 to jail again. His purpose, Lord Russell testified, was "to try and avoid the extermination of the people of this country and of many millions elsewhere." From the standpoint of this purpose, the trial must be accounted a success. Its reverberations, and the coming appeals, will serve further to awaken public opinion there and elsewhere to the insane folly of "defending" people by nuclear war.

The Judgment at Nuremberg—and the Judgment at the Old Bailey

"The real trial at the Old Bailey was not of the defendants, but of two sets of values and two completely opposed views of the world. The facts of the case were not in dispute. The defendants agreed that they had conspired to enter the Wethersfield air base in an attempt to prevent it from operating. The only question was whether the action was, as the charge put it, 'prejudicial to the interest and safety of the State.' But this matter was never debated in court. The Attorney-General argued that the only judge of the State's interests must be the State itself. . . .

"The Judge upheld this view; accordingly the defense were unable to use expert witnesses like Dr. Linus Pauling and Sir Robert Watson-Watt [inventor of radar] to question whether the existence of the Wethersfield air base was in the interests of the State. . . . As this theory runs, if everybody in the country has a right to decide what the interests of the State are, and to take illegal action, if they disagree with the interpretation of the State authorities, then government would be impossible. . . .

"But however well established this theory is, it isn't

very appropriate to our times. It was formulated when the State had a good deal less power than it has now, when its power to kill millions of people in a very short time was unthought of. But the twentieth century has changed all that. . . .

"Our experience, in fact, shows that the State is the most dangerous criminal in the twentieth century. In the face of . . . policies of mass extermination, it is ludicrous to say that you must wait five years for an election before you can pass judgment on these policies. It is the plain duty of every man to make continual judgments about the morality of his Government's acts. It is not only Committee of 100 supporters who are aware of this. It was made clear at the Nuremberg trial that Governments are also aware of it: but for obvious reasons Governments are only prepared to apply these principles to the actions of others. It is a different matter when it comes to your own Government. Hence the refusal to allow Eichmann to be mentioned in the Old Bailey."

—*Peace News* (London), February 23.

In Vietnam, as In Guatemala and Turkey, U.S. Trained Rebels Appear

(Continued from Page One)

ment problem" can be achieved only "by those who bear the supreme responsibility." If such meetings are taken as matter of course, their failure to achieve results at once will also be taken for granted. Another value lies in the chance to explore other problems. The British are eager and the Germans frantic over the idea that the impossibly narrow limits imposed by Adenauer on Berlin negotiations may be circumvented via the arms conference. If the top leaders agree not to give nuclear arms to nations which do not already possess them, this cannot be attacked as "discriminating" against the Germans but may ease Russian anxieties in Central Europe and provide a bargaining counter on Berlin. A third point should be kept in mind. If Khrushchev cannot get results on arms or Berlin by his co-existence policy, a new sharp turn on Moscow's part may be in the cards. The cold warriors here and in Bonn would, of course, welcome it.

Can You Liberate With Napalm?

In the meantime we drift toward trouble in the Far East, drugged by our own public relations hashish. We tell ourselves that we are now strong on anti-guerrilla activities when we are only blundering into the morass from which the French barely extricated themselves. Just as our government changed its line on Diem and put out a flood of optimistic estimates of his strength and popularity, two fliers bombed his palace. It turns out that these desperate rebels "belonged to the most westernized of Vietnam's military services," according to Homer Bigart's ever sharp and independent eye in the *New York Times* Feb. 28 from Saigon, and "had been trained by American military advisers in the techniques of dropping napalm" which they did on the Presidential palace. Diem's Secretary denies this because as Bigart cabled "there is some sensitivity here on the subject of napalm, which was used against Vietnam by the French." Dropping napalm, as the ad men would say, provides the wrong image for a liberating army. The warning bells toll but we do not listen. In Guatemala, as we pointed out last week, the latest uprising was by dissident officers trained in our anti-guerrilla school at Fort Gulick. In Turkey, American-trained and armed officers have just tried to

Power Sellout on The New Frontier

It is a tragedy there is no independent Congressional committee to investigate Secretary of the Interior Udall's hasty shelving of the plan to build a Federal transmission system for the Colorado River Storage Project. This plan was approved by Congress and set in motion by his predecessor, Eisenhower's Secretary of the Interior Seaton. Udall was pledged to it. The pledge has been broken in a most suspicious fashion. The plan for a Federal transmission system has been jettisoned on the basis of "letters of intent" filed by the big power companies serving Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico. "Letters of intent" are not firm contracts. For a purported saving of \$27 million on a \$150 million project, the government surrenders transmission to the private companies. The power to be generated is publicly owned. The law promised nonprofit distributors such as rural coops and public power districts priority in the purchase of this power. Private companies will now control the "toll gate" in between. Senator Anderson of New Mexico has already given his blessing as Chairman of the Senate Interior Committee to this sellout.

overthrow the government, impatient for long overdue reforms, as in South Vietnam. You can show a man how to fight but it's harder to keep him from thinking. It's safer to send in GI's who won't know what it's all about.

* At his press conference Feb. 21 Mr. Kennedy gave the game away. He was asked "in considering the conditions under which the U.S. might refrain from a resumption of nuclear testing" if he would comment on a recent letter to the *New York Times* suggesting that "both sides be allowed to maintain preparations at the ready for immediate tests should the other side be detected setting off a surprise explosion." Mr. Kennedy replied that this would not meet "all of the problem," since the Soviets had already set off their tests and "we have to consider the effects upon our security of those tests." To speak plainly this means that since they had a round, we have to have a round, too. Talk of conditions under which we might refrain is like the patter with which the sleight-of-hand artist diverts the audience's attention from what he's really doing.

Total Anti-Test Letters to the President Now 2,713—Keep Them Coming

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